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I. Race and Dwelling Sites.
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I. Race and Dwelling Sites.

101 • 197 The Caiuás /Cayua/ Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani family and speak Guarani, which is also spoken by the Indians in eastern Paraguay. In the narrower sense they form one of the groups that are included under the name of Cainguá. -- Egon Schaden, in his most recent book (1), has divided the Guarani

[113] 1. Aspectos fundamentais da cultura guarani /Fundamental Aspects of the Guarani Culture/, São Paulo, 1955.

in Brazil into three dialect groups: the Ñandéva, the Mbüa (2),

2. Schaden's spelling.

the Kaiová (2) /see footnote 2 above/. Without commenting on the other two, I should like to note that the Kaiovás, or Caiuás, speak the same dialect as the Tembecuá, or Apyterés, in the forests of northeastern Paraguay. In other respects, too, 101 they have much in common with this group, which today, however, is still little touched by European culture and lives in its [174] forests following the old ways (3). -- In former times perhaps

[113] 3. Cf. my study on the Tembecuá, Revista de Indias. In preparation for publication. University of Madrid.

some of the Tembecuá emigrated to Brazil and settled there;

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Chapter I

The Guaraní Tribe and Its Representatives in Brazilian Territory

The majority of the native populations encountered by the sixteenth-century land-clearers in the lands of the Plata basin spoke dialects of the Guaraní (1)

1./In the original source the notes for each chapter appear at the end of the chapter. In the translation the notes appear immediately after the designations for them in the text. The notes for Ch. I appear on pp. 22-23 in the original source./ The spelling of the tribal names follows the standards of the agreement reached in Rio de Janeiro on November 14, 1953, on the occasion of the 1st Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia /First Brazilian Congress of Anthropology/, held at the Museu Nacional. The text of the agreement was published in the Revista de Antropologia, Vol. II, No. 2, São Paulo, December of 1954.

idiom, closely related to the tongues of the so-called Tupí tribes, who dominated almost all of the Brazilian coast and large areas of the interior. To the linguistic unity of these southern tribes there corresponds a relative cultural unity. Nevertheless the existence of different names for the regional subgroups and, perhaps the great spatial mobility, producing notable dispersion, are the main factors responsible for the quite common opinion that it is a matter of so many distinct tribes.

While it is probable that in other times there was cultural differentiation among the various factions of Guaraní speech, on the other hand, there is no doubt but that in the last four centuries the original differences have in large part faded. Both the Jesuit reductions, scattered throughout the basin of the Prata /Plata/, and the effects of the Iberic colonization in general disintegrated the primitive communitarian configurations, leading to different regroupings, which could not fail to bring about a high degree of cultural leveling and homogenization.

/9 cont./

186 Among the contemporaneous Guaranî the consciousness of tribal unity did not come to prevail. Each one of the subgroups tries to accentuate and exaggerate the existing differences, to the extent of criticizing and ridiculing one another. The diversity of the dialects, of the religious beliefs and practices, of the psychic constitution, and even of the physical appearance serve as motive for each band to affirm constantly its putative superiority over the others. It is true that, as the cultural disintegration proceeds as a result of familiarity with "civilized" people, the dissensions tend to give way to a consciousness of the "Indian" as opposed to the "Brazilian" ("Portuguese") or the "Paraguayan." Thus, on the basis of the undeniable /10/ ethnic similitude and the common situation of ambivalence when confronted with the white man, certain patterns of co-operation and solidarity evolve at times chiefly when it is a matter of little bands restricted to small areas of land.

101 The Guaranî of Southern Brazil can be divided into three large groups: the Ñandéva (which includes the Apapokúva /Apapocuva/, whom the work of Curt Nimuendajú made famous) (2),

[114] 2. /From p. 22 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914. This is, perhaps, the most important study on the Guaranî culture published to date.

the Mbûá /Mbya/, and the Kayová. These last are the only ones who nowadays do not use the autodenomination Guaranî in confronting strangers. As far as the current designations for the innumerable hordes found in the literature are concerned, the confusion is such that any attempt to establish order is doomed to unsatisfactory results from the outset.

[128] [114]

128 In spite of the slight variations among the numerous villages, 101 the separation into three subgroups is justified mainly by linguistic differences, but also by peculiarities in the material and non-material culture. Reference will be made to these particularities 197 at the proper time in the course of this study. The existence of three Guaranî dialects in Brazilian territory can very easily be verified. There is no doubt but that others exist outside Brazil.

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• 197 10 Ñandéva (those who are we, those who are of ours) (3)

3./From p. 22 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914, p. 286, writes: "When the Guaraní refer to themselves in their language as people or as horde, they use the expression 'Nandéva' in the case when the person spoken to is included, and 'Oréva' when the person spoken to is from another tribe; both things mean 'our people,' the latter expression excluding, and the former one including, the person to whom speech is directed."

is the autodenomination of all the Guaraní. They like to use expressions such as ñandevaekuére (4)

[128] 4. /From p. 22 of the original source./ As they occur in the course of this account, terms and phrases in Guaraní are given in the Ñandéva dialect, except in those cases where, by the context or by special mention, it is verified as one of the other dialects. Sometimes the variability of the pronunciation is also reflected in the spelling adopted. Except for the y, which represents the characteristic vowel of the Guaraní, the phonetic value of the symbols is that of the transcription system generally used for the spelling of tribal designations, which was referred to in a previous note /note 1, p. 6/.

[194]

(our people), ñandéva eté (is likewise our people), txé ñandeva eté (I am likewise Guaraní, one of ours), and the like. But it is the only autodenomination used by the communities that speak the dialect recorded by Nimuendajú with the name Apapokúva, and which seems to have been spoken also by the Tañyguá and some other hordes mentioned by that author. I propose, therefore, that the name Ñandéva be reserved for this subdivision. The Mbüá call it Txiripá í, "the "Little Txiripá /Chiripa/" (5).

[128]

[114] 5. /From p. 22 of the original source./ This is, by the way, the denomination used by me in an earlier work. Schaden, 1948a.

/31 cont./
second half of the /32/ following century, when they were expelled, the Jesuits left 32 reductions, with a population of about 100,000 Indians (2).

2. Martin Dobrizhoffer, Geschichte der Abiponer /History of the Abipon/, Vol. 3, pp. 504-506. Vienna, 1783-84.

In 1855 the government of Paraná made an attempt to establish beside the ruins of the former Jesuit reduction of Loreto de Pirapó (near where the Pirapó empties into the Paranapanema) a settlement of Cayuá Indians, later transferred a little higher, with attention paid to the conditions of salubrity. The results of the undertaking were not as good as had at first been expected. In times gone by the Cayuás have ordinarily preferred to live isolated from other groups, whether of Indians or of whites.

In 1908 von Koenigswald writes that the idiom of the Cayuá constituted at the time a dialect of the old Guaraní, completely lacking the invocations introduced into the language by the Jesuits (3).

3. Gustav von Koenigswald, "Os Cayuás /The Cayua/." Separate from Vol. XCIII, No. 24, of Globo. Distributed on June 25, 1908. Translation of F. W. Sommer. Page 3.

The group of the Cayuá studied by the author is nowadays fully acquainted with the modified type of the Guaraní idiom; they have perhaps learned it in the last 40 or 50 years, a period in which they have had more and more intense contact with the white population. Among the older individuals there are a few who only speak the older type of idiom, the "pure" Cayuá, and although many of the younger ones use the modified form in the major part of their conversation, they nevertheless know the older type, being able to point out the differences. A small number of Indians,

/32 cont./
made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives outside of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language, admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.

Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the Brazilian settlements of Uniño and Nhu Verá, about two leagues from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such as the Posto Índigena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassuí, Ipeum, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca, gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that contain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians' territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

/34 cont./

601 Formal limits do not seem to oppose the bilateral extension
608 of this terminology. Many inhabitants of the aldeia designate
621 the majority of the other members of the community with a kinship term. Frequently, however, the person is not able to indicate the kinship with precision, but he knows, however, that a certain kinship exists.

601 In the designative terminology for the affines, the parents of the husband are classified as father-in-law and mother-in-law. For the man, the wife's brother and sister, the sister's husband, and the brother's wife are all classified as cunhados /brothers-in-law, brothers- and sisters-in-law/ (without distinction as to sex). For the woman, the husband's sister and the brother's wife are classified as cunhadas /sisters-in-law/, while the sister's husband and the husband's brother are classified as cunhados. In the first descending generation, the son's wife and the daughter's husband are both children by affinity (without distinction as to sex), while for the woman they represent daughter-in-law and son-in-law. The fact that a woman distinguishes, with regard to sex, the affinal relatives of her own generation as well as those of the first descending generation, while the man does not make this distinction, is a peculiarity whose real meaning is not known. One possibility, for which, however, one can not present many proofs today, would be the close relation between this phenomenon and the fact that in other times the maternal side of the family might have been more important in the kinship system than it is at present.

[121] [174]

114 Montoya, a Jesuit missionary who lived on the Upper Paraná
175 in the first half of the seventeenth century, compiled a Guaraní
•197 vocabulary, in which are certainly represented, without any distinction, various idioms of the Tupí-Guaraní linguistic family (7).

[113] 7. Padre Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, Vocabulario y Tesoro de la Lengua guaraní, o mas bien tupí /Vocabulary and Thesaurus of the Guaraní, or rather Tupi, Language/. New edition. Vienna-Paris, 1876.

/34 cont./
114 We therefore do not know whether the Cayuá figures among them,
125 but there is no doubt about the fact that one of the groups studied
601 by him was closely connected to the Cayuá with reference to
197 language, because the greater part of the present-day kinship terms of the Cayuá are found, with very little variation, in Montoya's work (8).

[113] 8. See also: Carlos Drummond, "Designativos de parentesco in Tupí-Guaraní /Kinship Designations in Tupi-Guarani/." Sociologia, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 328-354. São Paulo.

114 Terms for the first descending generation that are not designations
601 for the children of Ego or the children of Ego's brothers and sisters are not recorded by Montoya; /35/ they are the only ones that we lack for the comparison. While Montoya gives the designation for daughter as being the one for the brother's daughter, he does not mention that the term for son is also extended to the brother's son. In our opinion this is probably owing to a lapse on the part
[178] of the researcher. In a general way one can say that a comparison of the terms presented by Montoya with those of the present-day Cayuá indicates a high degree of stability, during a relatively long period, in the kinship system of certain Guaraní-speaking groups, including the Cayuá.

The Life Cycle

842 Births: Among the Cayuá one notices a great desire to have children. There are no mystic concepts relative to the birth, but there are various remedies that the woman can take in order to have children. In the case of not having children, it is always admitted that the woman might be sterile, this sterility being attributed to the fact of her having taken contraceptive remedies.
843 Sterility is considered a valid reason for divorce. During the pregnancy there are certain taboos for both the pregnant woman

5: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948 SM4 Guarani SM4

THE GUARANÍ

By Alfred Métraux

TRIBAL DIVISIONS

The area inhabited by the *Guaraní* (map 1, *No. 1*; see Volume 1, map 7) has shrunk considerably since the 16th century. Today the *Guaraní* who have preserved their cultural identity form isolated islands in Paraguay and southern Brazil. The subtribes mentioned by Spanish conquistadors and missionaries have disappeared, and the names which designate modern *Guaraní* groups are fairly recent and appear in the literature only in the 18th century. Therefore, it is necessary to deal with ancient and modern *Guaraní* as if they were separate entities. The *Guaraní* language, however, is still spoken by Mestizos, or acculturated Indians, in most of the territory where it was used at the time of the Conquest. The rural population of Paraguay is often called *Guaraní*. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion between these modern civilized *Guaraní* and their primitive contemporaries, we shall always refer to the latter as *Caingué*.

Guaraní of the 16th and 17th centuries.—The *Guaraní* were first known as *Carijó* or *Cario*, but the name *Guaraní* finally prevailed in the 17th century. At this time, the *Guaraní* were the masters of the Atlantic Coast from Barra de Cananea to Rio Grande do Sul, (lat. 26°–33° S., long. 48°–52° W.) and from there their groups extended to the Paraná, Uruguay, and Paraguay Rivers.

Guaraní groups, called by the early chroniclers "Guaraní de las islas," *Chandris*, or *Chandules*, lived in the 16th century on the islands of the Río de la Plata, and on the southern side of the Paraná Delta from San Isidro to the vicinity of the Carcarañá River (lat. 34° S., long. 58° W.) There were some *Guaraní* enclaves along the Uruguayan shore, at Martín Chico, and from San Lazaro to San Salvador. Pottery vessels of unmistakable *Guaraní* origin have been found near San Francisco Soriano and Concordia in Uruguay, on the island of Martín García and at Arroyo Malo, between the Luján River and the Paraná de las Palmas River.

On the eastern side of the Uruguay River, the borderline between the *Charrua* and the bulk of the *Guaraní* nation ran near Yapeyú. On the

6: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1945 SM4 Guarani SM4
Cayua

One thing is certain, however, and that is that the Guarani spoken by the Cayuá of southern Brazil has been, up until quite recently — a fact still to be observed in the speech of the older persons of the tribe, at least — a "pure" variety largely unaffected by the alterations Guarani is said to have undergone at the hands of the Jesuit grammarians, together with the subsequent introduction of many words of Spanish origin. Rengger [12] comments on this difference of the Cayuá language from the Guarani of Paraguay, and von Koenigswald [13] observes the same fact. The present-day Cayuá, themselves, also recognize this characteristic of their speech: the young describe the more archaic and "purer" speech of the oldest members of the group as *"puro de Cayuá"*, while they consider that they, themselves, speak *"meio paraguaio."* Thus they acknowledge a supposed influence of the second language of neighboring Paraguay, the hispanicized and "regularized" language which itself also springs from indigenous Guarani dialects. This would seem to substantiate the conclusion of von Koenigswald that we are justified in postulating little or no effective Jesuit contact with the Cayuá. Or, we might quite reasonably suggest that some Cayuá may actually have come under the Jesuit influence and become culturally and linguistically distinguished from the rest of the tribe, only to disappear later as a distinct ethnic entity in the destruction, absorption, and enslavement that followed the break-up of the Jesuit empire.

The question of Jesuit influence on the Cayuá may well not be merely academic for a paper which is mainly concerned with historical influences on the economy of the latter. According to accounts of the Jesuit missions in the region, the missionaries actively influenced much more than merely the religious aspects of the indigenous cultures with which they were in contact. They are said to have encouraged, developed, and rationalized agriculture, doubtless introducing new plants to the Indians and perfecting farming methods. That they would have encouraged a sedentary type of culture rather than a nomadic one is quite clear; otherwise their religious program would have been gravely handicapped. Appa.ently the Jesuits also encouraged a certain sort of communalism of production and distribution. Some of these influences doubtless remained in the cultures of groups

[12] *Op. cit.*
[13] *Op. cit.*